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Originalbeitrag erschienen in:
Archaeology and history in the Lebanon 26/27 (2007/2008), S.[168]-181

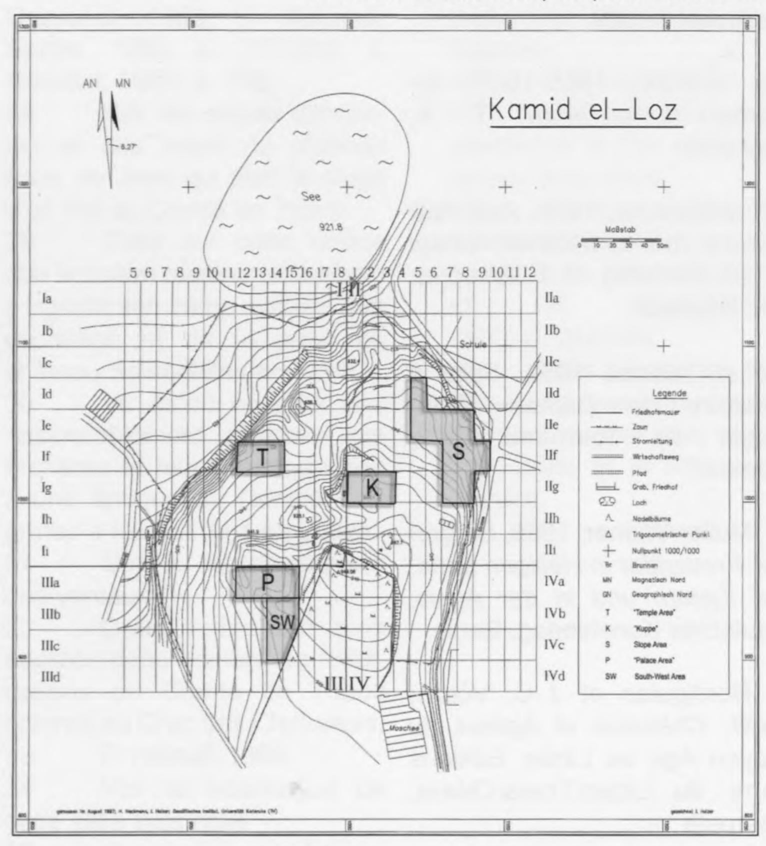


AHL ISSUES 26-27, AUTUMN 2007/SPRING 2008, PP.

KAMID EL-LOZ. A RELOADING POINT IN THE LONG-DISTANCE TRADE DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD?

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Two fruitful plains in today's Lebanon have been centres of cultural, commercial and political development in the past – the Akkar plain in the north and the Beqa'a plain in the south-east.



1 Site map of Kamid el-Loz.

Tell Arqa is the most prominent site in northern Lebanon. A long settlement history, beginning in the Neolithic and then ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman Period, illustrates its prominence for the political, economical and cultural development of the area. The economic potential of the Akkar plain as a rich agrarian country, and at the same time as a transit region for the long-distance trade, enabled Arqa to develop into a prosperous town during the Phoenician period. The town and its vicinity aroused the interest of all foreign powers who tried to assert political control over the area. Arqa or Irqata is also mentioned as a significant place in the Amarna letters of Egypt and in Assyrian documents [1]. During the Roman era, Arqa was known as Caesarea of Lebanon or Arca Caesarea, where the emperor Alexander Severus was born [2].

The basic conditions for the development of the Akkar plain in general and of Arqa in particular resemble the general framework of development observed in the Beqa'a plain and, in this instance, of the site of Kamid el-Loz. Here with our recent results on the development of Kamid el-Loz in antiquity, we are honored to contribute an article to the Festschrift of our esteemed colleague Jean-Paul Thalmann.

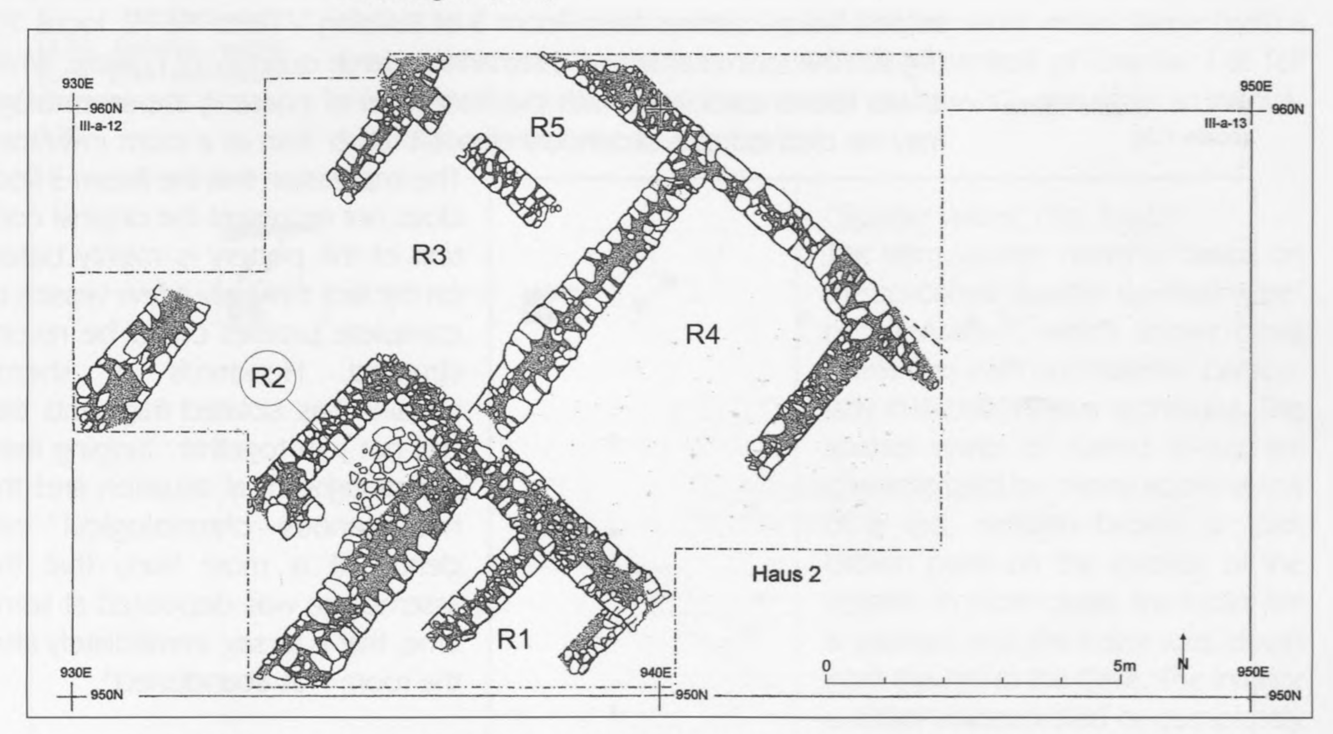
Introduction (MH)

In previous seasons of work on the south-western slope of Tell Kamid el-Loz (fig. 1) we observed a continuous sequence of occupation from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period. Over the course of the 2005 season, work focused mainly on the Hellenistic structures (Building V in area III a 12-13) on the western slope of the site [3]. The construction history of

Building V and its inventory point to changes in the function of the structure as well as in the nature of activities that took place there. The building contained a diversity of pottery, including two inscribed fragments of a so-called "Rhodian Amphora" that provides both the chronological basis for positioning Kamid el-Loz within the Hellenistic period and the means to possibly integrate the Hellenistic settlement into a wider range of local, regional and supra-regional contacts. The distribution of Hellenistic pottery throughout Kamid el-Loz testifies to the existence of a large Hellenistic settlement at the site[4] .

Investigations concerning settlement activity in the Beqa'a plain during the Hellenistic period is just beginning. Survey data confirms a distribution of Hellenistic settlements throughout the plain. Moreover, literary records and archaeological activity point to Heliopolis, better known as Baalbek, as a centre which gained its religious function and its regional importance at least as far back as the Hellenistic period[5].

Building V (MH)



2 Plan of the Hellenistic Building V.

Over the course of seven weeks of excavations in 2004 and 2005, we opened about 150 m^2 in area III a 12-13 (west) in the immediate vicinity of the Late Bronze Age "palace" of Kamid el-Loz[6]. The whole area was principally occupied by Hellenistic Building V (fig. 2). So far, two building phases have been observed.

To date, we have exposed three rooms of the older phase I, but further rooms are expected as we continue to reveal the walls in the north, west and south. The well-preserved double-faced walls with rubble packing stand to a height of approximately 1 m (fig. 3). A remodelling of the house changed its inner layout (phase II). The middle wall M1 was built over and the southern parts of Rooms 3 and 4 were transformed into Rooms 1 and 2 (fig. 2). Both rooms were divided into two parts by partition walls. In

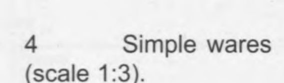
3 Panoramic view of the Hellenistic Building V.

phase I and phase II, the building lacked installations which might offer some hint as to its precise functions. The pottery found so far indicates household activities and the involvement of the occupants in some supra-regional contacts. The constructional technique of the walls, in addition to the simple trodden earth floors, point to the rather rural or local character of the building.

After phase II, the house was abandoned and Room 3 used as a dump *inter alia* for broken pottery - luckily for archaeological research which extracted valuable information from this opportune situation (sealed artefacts in *situ*).

Building V - The Pottery (SKO)

The majority of the pottery sample presented below derives from Room 3 of Building V (area IIIa 12, locus 10) (fig 2)[7].The room contained a remarkably large quantity of pottery. While it was found associated with the floor level of phase II, the assemblage may be defined as a secondary deposit rather than as a room inventory. The impression that the Room 3 floor does not represent the original context of the pottery is mainly based on the fact that only a few vessels or complete profiles could be reconstructed. Hundreds of sherds remained as isolated fragments that did not join together. Judging from the stratigraphical situation and the homogenous chronological evidence, it is most likely that the assemblage was deposited at some time, that is to say, immediately after the room was abandoned[8].



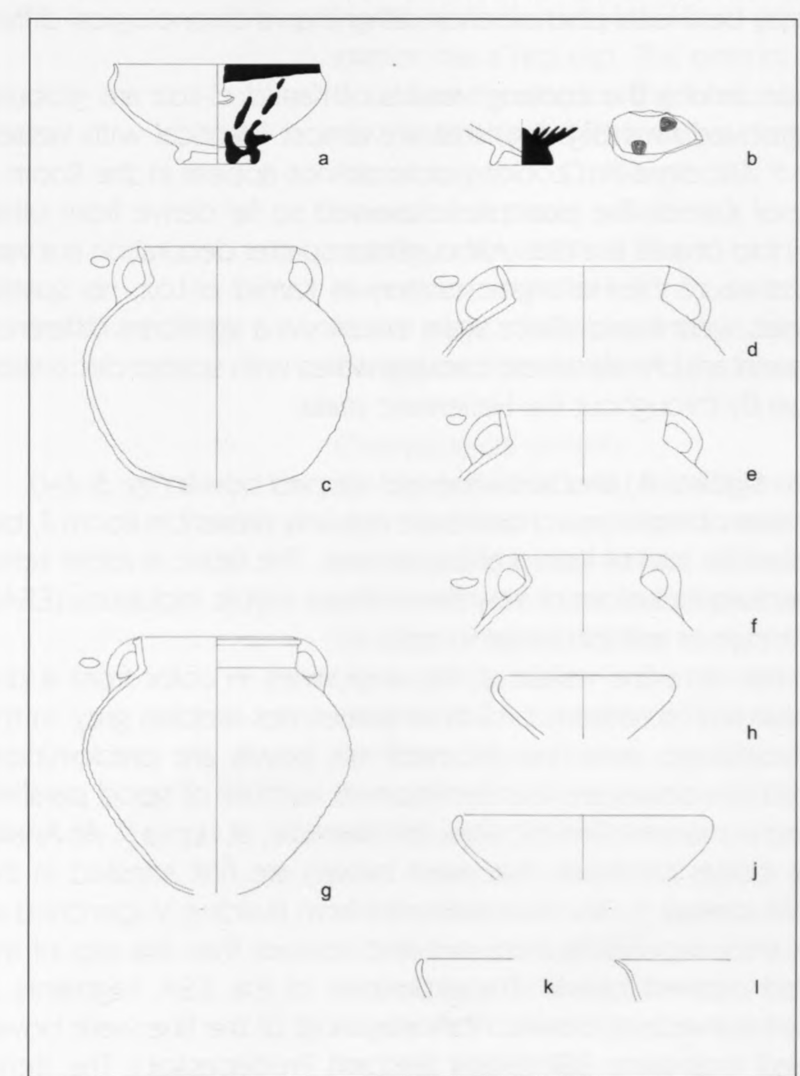
4 Simple wares (scale 1:3).

Simple wares (fig. 4)

This category includes all fragments and vessels without decorations or other eye-catching surface treatments (except for cooking wares). The fabric of all samples is medium fine and fired hard or very hard. Mineral inclusions are common, and occasionally, there is a mix of mineral and organic inclusions. In the majority of cases, the interior and exterior walls are well smoothed and sometimes slipped.

Among the simple wares, jars with folded rims are well represented (fig. 4:a-c)[9]. A good parallel exists at Tell Arqa[10]. At Tel Anafa, similar vessels occur in the Late Hellenistic 2A pottery assemblage[11]. Mortars found in Room 3 of Building V are characterized by simple thickened rims (fig. 4:d-e), whereas the mortars of later Hellenistic contexts of area IIIa 12 (loci FS 34 and 39) have more extended lips with corrugations (fig. 4:f-g). This corresponds with Tel Anafa where comparable simple thickened rim mortars belong to the Hellenistic 2A (*ca.* 125-110 BC) assemblage[12]. In contrast, the locus FS 34 mortar of Kamid (fig. 4:g) first appears in the Hellenistic 2B period (110-98 BC) of the Anafa sequence, and the locus FS 39 mortar (fig. 4:f) has a good parallel in the Hellenistic 2C (*ca.* 100-80 BC) context of this site as well[13]. Furthermore, incurved rim bowls with ring bases are common in the simple ware assemblages (fig. 4:h-j)[14]. These bowls also occur in spatter ware and red-slipped ware (see below). In Tel Anafa, identical "plain ware" bowls appear in the Hellenistic 2A period[15].

Bowls with everted rims are associated with the simple wares, the spatter, and the red slipped wares (fig. 4:k-m). The same vessel shape (with a black varnish) is known from the Hellenistic context of Chantier I at Tell Arqa[16]. At Tel Anafa, "semi-fine everted rim bowls" were again an innovation of the Hellenistic 2A period[17].



5 Spatter wares (a,b); cooking wares (c-g); ESA and semi-fine red slip (h-l) (scale 1:3).

"Spatter wares" (fig. 5:a-b)

The term *spatter wares* is based on the so-called "spatter painted ware" of Tel Anafa[18], which shows close similarities with our material, particularly in the decorative technique. The spatter wares of Kamid el-Loz are characterized by messy applications of a red, reddish brown or dark brown paint on the exterior of the vessels. In most cases, the outer rim is painted and the color runs down from the rim to the base. The interior is either undecorated or completely "painted". Two fabrics can be distinguished: A medium fine variant with only mineral inclusions and a medium fine category with mineral and organic inclusions.

The vessel repertoire of spatter wares from Room 3 consists of different bowl types. Common are incurved rim bowls and everted rim bowls with spatter decoration[19]. A unique example of a *skyphos*-like bowl with ring base (fig. 5:a) also derives from the Room 3 assemblage[20].

At Tel Anafa, everted rim bowls with spatter decoration have their first appearance in the Hellenistic 1B period, whereas incurved rim spatter painted bowls are already present by the Hellenistic 1A phase [21].
The sole example of a ring base bowl with a "stamped" interior (fig. 5:b) and spatter decoration on the outer surface also belongs also to the Room 3 pottery. At Anafa, similar stamped spatter fragments occur throughout the Hellenistic 2A period [22].

In the report on the Hellenistic plain wares from Tel Anafa, A. Berlin suggested that spatter painted ware is a local phenomenon of the Hula valley in Northern Israel [23]. The fact that a huge amount of a strikingly similar ware is now known from Kamid el-Loz could disprove this assumption. However, the existence of relatively close relations in the material culture between the two nearby regions is not surprising.

Cooking wares (fig. 5:c-g)

The cooking wares of Kamid el-Loz include different fabric types which have not been distinguished so far. In most cases, there are white macroscopic inclusions that vary from medium to coarse in size. The surface colours range from reddish brown to dark grey. Very common are globular pots with rounded or slightly pointed rims (fig. 5:c-f) which are different from the Anafa types. The globular cooking pots from Anafa are characterized by vertical necks [24], whereas the Kamid vessels have more everted necks that may be a local phenomenon rather than a chronological difference.

Less common among the cooking vessels of Kamid el-Loz are globular pots with grooved rims (fig. 5:g) that are almost identical with vessels from Anafa [25]. Grooved-rim cooking pots do not appear in the Room 3 assemblage of Kamid. The examples observed so far derive from other (Hellenistic) loci of area III a12 [26]. Although the spatter decoration is a very common feature of the Hellenistic pottery in Kamid el-Loz, no spatter cooking vessels were found. Once again this shows a significant difference between Kamid and Anafa where cooking wares with spatter decoration occur frequently throughout the Hellenistic strata.

ESA (Eastern Sigillata A) and semi-fine red slipped bowls (fig. 5: h-l)

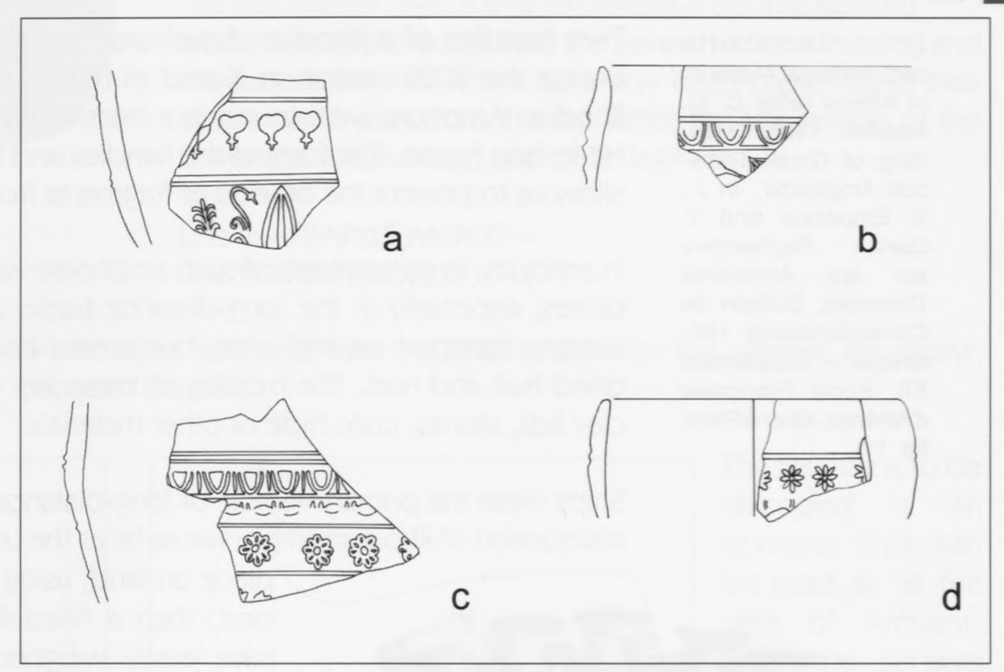
Large quantitites of red-slipped bowls are not only present in Room 3, but in other Hellenistic loci of Kamid el-Loz as well. The fabric is either semi-fine with medium inclusions or very fine without visible inclusions (ESA), and mostly beige or reddish beige in color.

The slip of the semi-fine variant is thin and varies in color from a dull orange or dull red to reddish brown or sometimes reddish grey. In the Room 3 assemblage, semi-fine incurved rim bowls are predominant, while everted rim bowls are less common. A number of good parallels can be found in many Hellenistic sites, for example, at Hama [27]. At Anafa, comparable bowls (*imitation fine ware bowls*) are first attested in the Hellenistic 2A period [28]. The few examples from Building V identified as ESA have a thick slip that is more red and lustrous than the slip of the semi-fine red slipped bowls. The repertoire of the ESA fragments is restricted to incurved rim bowls. At Anafa, most of the fine ware bowls with inturned rims were BSP (Black Slipped Predecessor). The items

designated as ESA appear exclusively in Late Hellenistic contexts at Anafa [29].

Relief bowls ("Megarian bowls") (fig. 6)

In Room 3, the fragment of a relief bowl was found (fig. 6:a), show-



6 Relief bowls (scale 1:2).

ing close similarities in the floral design to bowls known from Hama [30]. The interior has a red slip. The exterior slip is red to dark grey and more lustrous than the interior. The fabric is light beige and very fine. In the upper row, heart-shaped leafs with a distinct cruciform lower part are arranged. According to F. O. Waagé, this border design is peculiar to the relief bowls of Antioch, where it is designated as the floret motif [31]. Other motifs underneath the "floret" of the Room 3 relief bowls include the following from right to left - a palmette, curling stipes, and a lancet-shaped leaf or plant. Quite common in other Hellenistic loci of Kamid el-Loz are the egg and the rosette motifs, as well as the rows of astragals (fig. 6:b-d) [32].

Chronological remarks

As mentioned above, the Room 3 assemblage was deposited directly after the room was abandoned. Since the room had not been left exposed for a long period of time before the deposition took place, it can be assumed that the original date of the floor nearly corresponds to the date provided by the pottery deposit. There are many close parallels between the assemblage of Room 3 and the pottery present in Late Hellenistic 2A contexts of Tel Anafa. This would suggest an initial date of the Room 3 types not much earlier than 125 BC. The date given by the handles of the Rhodian amphora (see below) fits well with the date suggested. However, the fact remains that for the majority of the pottery types from Anafa, only the initial date is given. How the types evolve throughout the Hellenistic strata and possibly also throughout the Roman strata is not discussed [33]. Although the end date of the Kamid assemblage cannot be precisely defined, (it is doubtful that it extends beyond 110 BC). The absence of distinct types in the Room 3 assemblage that are common in the later Hellenistic contexts of Tel Anafa supports this assumption. This

can, for instance, be illustrated by the simple ware mortars (fig. 4:d-g). The Room 3 pottery lacks mortars with corrugated lips which are attributed to later contexts at Anafa, as well as to later loci of Kamid el-Loz (see above).

Two handles of a Rhodian Amphora from Kamid el-Loz (ML)

During the 2005 season in Kamid el-Loz, two inscribed handles of a Rhodian Amphora were found in a massive ash layer which covered the Hellenistic house. The form of the handles and the preserved inscriptions allow us to present the objects as fragments from one Rhodian Amphora.

In antiquity, large numbers of such amphorae were used as transport containers, especially in the long-distance trade. Amphorae were not only used to transport oil and wine, but served also as containers for olives, dried fruit and nuts. The mouths of these jars were probably sealed by clay lids, stones, cork, hide or other materials.

Ships were the primary vehicle of long-distance trade that resulted in the distribution of Rhodian amphorae as far as the Levant. If these exports took place on land, using carts as a means of transport, then a filled Rhodian Amphora would have easily weighed about 35 kilograms. A model of a corresponding cart from the National Museum in Athens might illustrate this kind of vehicle (fig. 7). Transporting an amphora over a short distance could have been handled by two persons who would have carried the amphora with the aid of wooden poles resting on their shoulders. Since the amphorae had pointed bases they needed a rack made of wood, terracotta or stone to position them in a room or courtyard.



7 Terracotta cart, National Museum of Athens (after C. G. Koehler, 1986, "Handling of Greek Transport Amphoras", in J.-Y. Empereur and Y. Garlan *Recherches sur les Amphores Grecques*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique – Supplément XII, École Française d'Athènes, Athens/Paris, fig. 11).

The two handles found in Kamid el-Loz (figs. 8 and 9) derive from the same find spot and clearly belong to one same vessel. Not only the find spot, but also the color, ware, form of the handles, and the composition of the inscription support this conclusion. The typical stamped inscription for a Rhodian Amphora consists of one imprint that documents the date of its fabrication while the second



8 Rhodian inscribed handle.



9 Rhodian handle with inscription and "anchor".



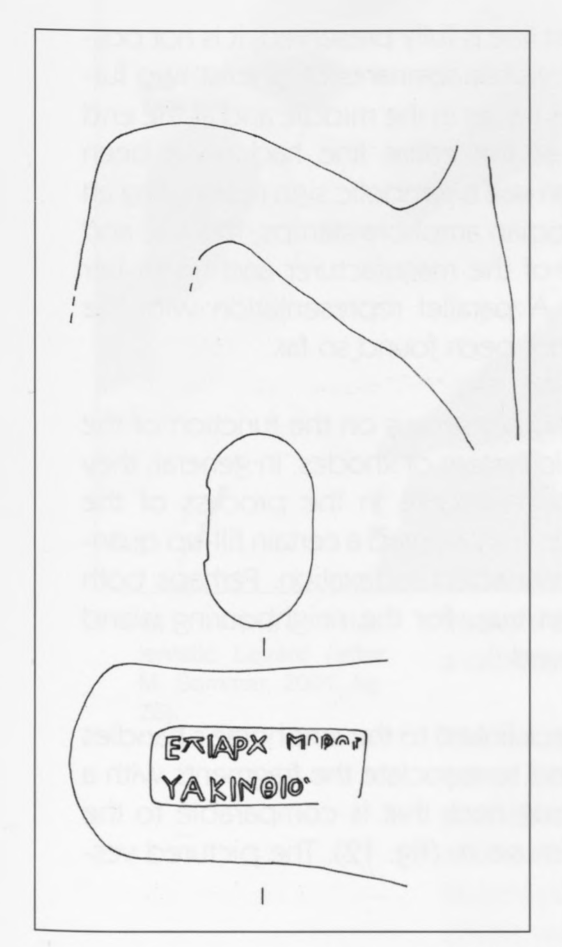
10 Rhodian inscribed handle (scale 1:2).

imprint refers to the name of the manufacturer.

One of the handles is sharply carinated, nearly right-angled. Only a small fragment of the vessel itself is preserved. The first imprint (figs. 8 and 10) reveals a double-spaced inscription. In the upper line, the seventh letter is missing and the succeeding five letters have only been preserved in their upper half. Apart from the last letter, the impression of the lower line is fully intact and quite legible.

Line 1: ΕΠΙΑΡΧ(Ε)ΜΒΡΟΤ
Line 2: ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟ(Υ)

(Those signs that have been reconstructed from the context are shown between brackets)



The first line is to be decoded is an eponym and can be read as "at the time of Archembrot" the second line as "Hyakinthios". "Archembrotos" stands for the name of a Helios-priest, whose name in Rhodes, had been utilized to label a specific year. According to our preliminary enquiry, the eponym belongs to the fifth chronological group (145-108 BC) [34]. Following G. Finkielsztejn, it can be dated more precisely to the years 134/133 BC [35], which allows a rather distinct chronological assignment of the amphora fragments.

11 Rhodian handle with inscription and "anchor" (scale 1:2).

12 Rhodian amphora from the Nicosia Museum (after I. Nicolaou and J.-Y. Empereur, 1986, fig. 8a).

Amphora handles with the entry "Archembrotos" are known throughout the Mediterranean, as well as in the region of the Black Sea [36]. For example, at Gezer, more than 20 handles were found bearing this eponym [37].

The second lower line substantiates our dating by stating the name of a month.
The Rhodian calendar denominates one month with the name of

"Hyakinthios". This month correlates with the space of time around May/June of the modern calendar [38]. According to G. Finkielsztejn, the tradition of placing the month on the Rhodian Amphora handles began around the year 234 BC. The reason for this seems to be related to the growth in wine production after the end of the Third Syrian War (246-241 BC). An increase in prosperity required an increasing exercise of control and a sophisticated recording system [39].

The second handle (figs. 9 and 11) resembles the first one in its form. The fragment contains two elements: an inscribed line and a symbolic sign ("x" indicates fragmentary remnants of characters, while "..." indicates the clear space between the fragmented conserved characters.)

Line 1: (xx...x...x)
Line 2: Sign in form of an anchor with a circle on each side.

Since only the first character of the first line is fully preserved, it is not possible to read the rest of the line. The visible remnants of at least two further characters next to the Δ as well as traces in the middle and at the end of the imprint plausibly suggest that the entire line had once been inscribed [40]. Below the writing one can see a symbolic sign resembling an anchor. According to the logic of Rhodian amphora stamps, this line and its signs should designate the name of the manufacturer and his or her identification through the emblem. A parallel representation with the anchor motif from Kamid el-Loz has not been found so far.

13 The survey area (after D. Bonatz, 2002, fig. 2).



Until now there has been no consensus on the function of the stamps within the economic system of Rhodes. In general, they are related to a check-up procedure in the process of the amphorae production. Either they insured a certain fill-up quantity or the stamping was connected to taxation. Perhaps both suggestions may have been true. For the neighbouring island Kos, taxation has been proved [41].

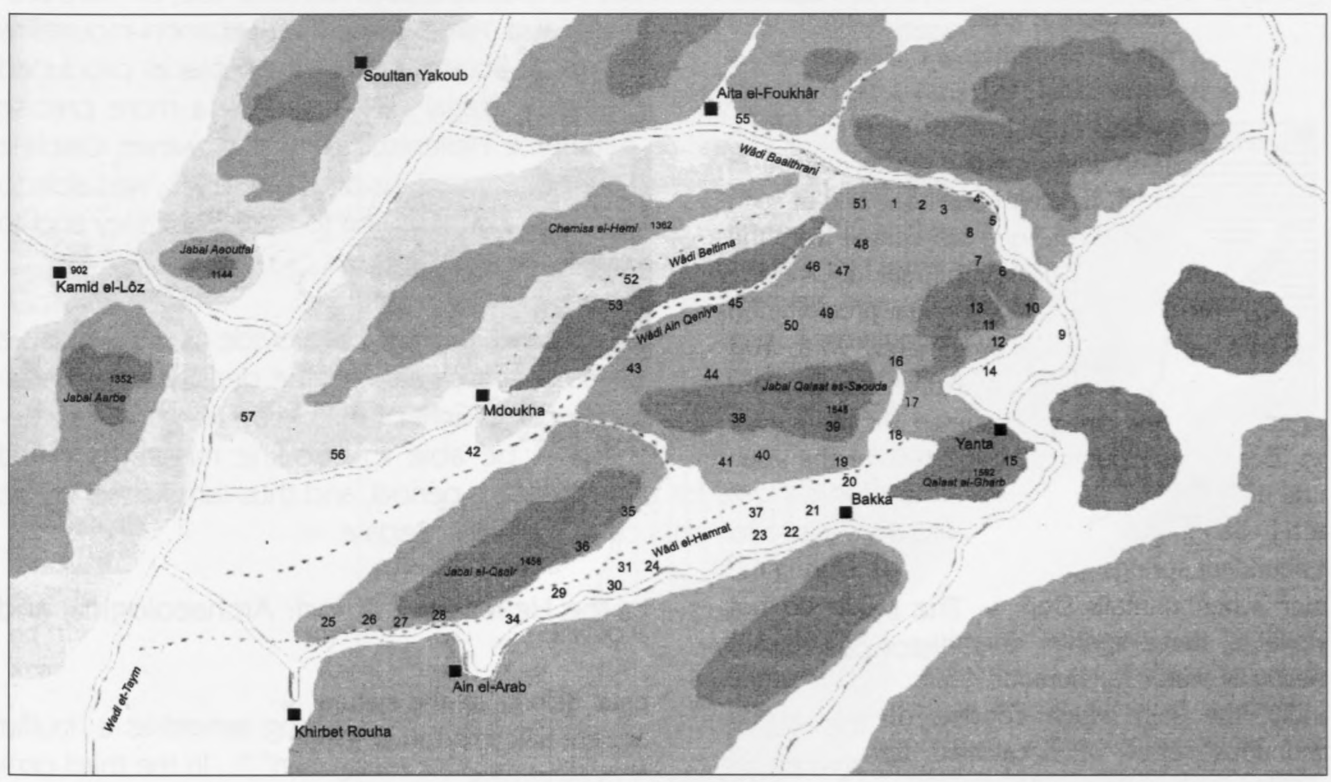
The rim form and straight neck linked to the amphorae's handles of Kamid el-Loz can be used to associate the fragments with a type of amphora with a long neck that is comparable to the example from the Nicosia museum (fig. 12). The pictured vessel dates to around 150 BC.

Conclusion: Building V in Kamid el-Loz and the scientific value of a pottery dump (MH)

The careful examination of the building history of Building V and the attention paid to the ways it was utilized by its owners permit both an accurate chronological placement of the settlement of Kamid el-Loz within the Hellenistic period and a reconstruction of its involvement in long-distance trade during the late Hellenistic period. Valuable indicators of the chronological pegs as well as of the hints concerning the "supra-regional"

dealings of the Kamid el-Loz inhabitants, have been the so-called "spatter ware", the "red slip fine ware", the "Megarian bowls" and the handles of the Rhodian amphora. The regions recognized as being connected to Kamid el-Loz include the Hula Valley, southern and northern Syria and the Phoenician coast of Lebanon, the latter being the intermediary through which the Rhodian amphora probably reached the country.

To this day, we know little about the local impact of Kamid el-Loz, as well as its function in the supra-regional trade at the time, except for the fact that Kamid el-Loz was wealthy enough to participate in the long-distance



14 The Hellenistic Levant (after M. Sommer, 2001, fig. 28).

trade, that is, its inhabitants had resources at their disposal that matched a corresponding counter-value for their imports.

The results of the pottery analysis concerning trade connections did not come as a surprise. The location of Kamid el-Loz was to all intents and purposes profitable – a rich agricultural location at the crossroads of one of the most important overland routes that potentially connected the Beqa'a plain with all the cardinal points. At all times, the location of Kamid el-Loz was suitable as a trade hub and a military checkpoint depending on the political development of the time. Since at least the third millennium BC, both parameters were used and influenced the cultural, economic and political development of the site.

The Beqa'a plain during the Hellenistic period according to survey data (MH)

Different surveys carried out in the northern and southern parts of the Beqa'a plain as well as in the peripheral mountains, indicate a distribution of Hellenistic settlements within the whole region. In 1972, a survey team

from the University of Tübingen explored the northern Beqa'a and discovered several Hellenistic settlements [42], but without being able to provide more precise information about the chronology of the sites (early, middle or late Hellenistic period). Between 1972 and 1974, L. Marfoe [43] conducted a survey in the northern and southern Beqa'a; however, his work was not specifically focused on the "classical" periods. Thus, our knowledge of the cultural development of the Beqa'a plain during the Hellenistic and Roman times is still very sketchy – a desideratum that ought to be eliminated with our new archaeological research in Kamid el-Loz.
Embedded into the context of the excavations at Kamid el-Loz, two surveys were carried out in 2001 and 2002 east of Kamid el-Loz, or more precisely between Kamid el-Loz and Yanta in the Anti-Lebanon mountains (fig. 13) under the direction of D. Bonatz [44]. Seventeen places produced Hellenistic pottery. The surface material did not allow a more precise chronological definition within the Hellenistic period; however, Caroline Jauß, who accomplished the pottery analysis of the survey [45], was able to relate potential connections of our survey area to the Hula Valley and to the Upper Jordan Valley during Hellenistic times.

The surveys carried out so far in the Beqa'a plain provide us with valuable information about the pattern of settlement and the density of colonisation during the Hellenistic period. In light of the excavation of the settlement at Kamid el-Loz, we will be able to add the missing detailed chronological data for the Hellenistic period, and thus turn Kamid el-Loz into a type-site for classical times in the Beqa'a.

The Beqa'a plain during the Hellenistic period: Archaeological and Historical evidence (MH)

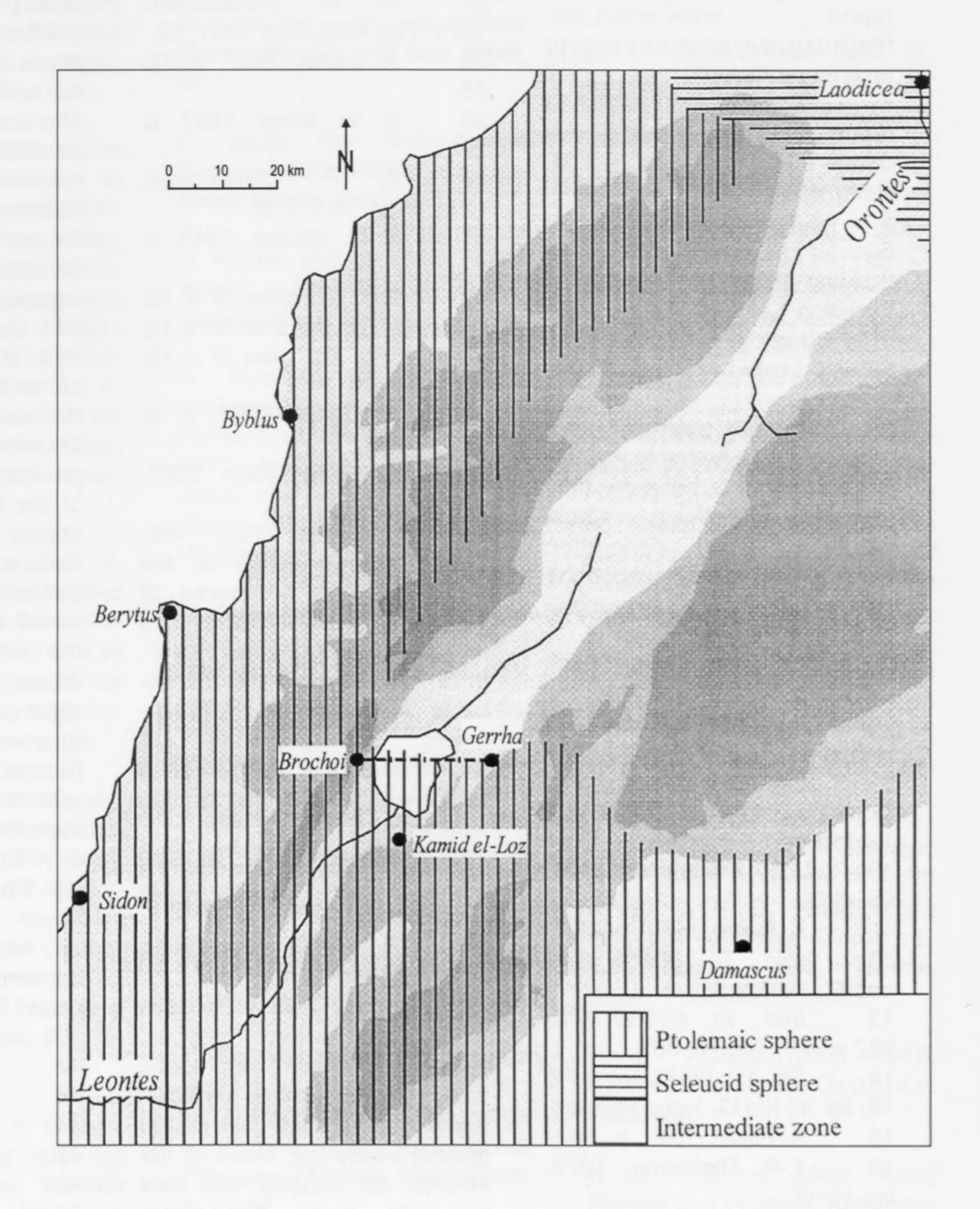
During the Hellenistic period, the Beqa'a plain long served as a "buffer zone between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdom" [46]. In the third century BC, the area belonged to the Ptolemaic territory (fig. 14). After the fifth Syrian War [47], the Seleucid bestrode the plain in the early second century BC, while in the middle of the second century BC, Roman influence became noticeable.

Over the next 100 years Seleucid predominance collapsed. At the same time, in the middle of the second century BC, the Ituraens began to infiltrate the region. They first settled in the Beqa'a plain, the Mount Hermon region and the Anti-Lebanon mountains. Later, they took up residence in the Lebanese mountains and in the hills of Galilee. Although the Itureans were politically independent from the Seleucids, they kept loose connections with their elite.

The erosion of Seleucid power and the infiltration of the Itureans into the Beqa'a plain did not hinder the development of Kamid el-Loz and its establishment as a prosperous settlement. The results of the pottery analysis allow us to modify the notion that the Beqa'a plain "had lost its old linking function between north (Asia Minor) and south (Palestine, Egypt), as well as with the west (Phoenicia) and east (Mesopotamia)". At least for

the late Hellenistic period this was no longer true. Indeed, the pottery inventory of Building V seems to confirm another setting also suggested by M. Sommer, that after the end of the so-called fifth "Syrian War", it once again became possible for the settlers in the Beqa'a plain to participate in the long-distance trade.

When the Romans took over the Beqa'a plain, a flourishing and stable settlement-system had established itself under the rule of the Itureans. Heliopolis/Baalbek, the religious centre of the Itureans, reflected the prosperous state of the area, while Chalkis, the political centre of the Itureans (not yet located but known through their written tradition), is still awaiting discovery.



NOTES

1 One relevant reference to Arqa in the Bible (Gen. 10:17) is to the inhabitants who were called Arkites.

2 See the article of T. Tawilé, p. 119 in this publication for relevant ancient texts.

3 For further results of the 2005 season, see the internet report : www.orient.uni-freiburg.de/archaeologie/arch.frame.htm.

4 For the first published report on the Hellenistic evidence at Kamid el-Loz see M. Heinz *et al.*, 2004.

5 K. Rheidt, 2004.

6 The excavation of Building V was directed by Dr. Christian Leschke, Department of Classical Archaeology, Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg.

7 Further examples from other loci were added to the pottery of Room 3 because they represent distinctive or unusual vessel shapes, decoration types, or wares that support the dating of the Room 3 assemblage.

8 I wish to thank Christiane Röhmer-Strehl for her helpful advice on the Hellenistic pottery.

9 Fig. 4:a, area III a 13, locus FS 2; fig. 4:b-c, area III a 12, locus FS 10 (room 3).

10 J.-P. Thalmann, 1978, fig. 42/2.

11 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 49.

12 *Ibid.,* Pl. 38/PW 349 and Pl. 39/PW 363.

13 *Ibid.*, Pl. 40/PW 372-382 and Pl. 39/PW 367.

14 Fig. 4: h IIIa12, locus FS 18; fig. 4:j IIIa12, locus FS 10.

15 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 74.

16 J.-P. Thalmann, 1978, fig. 43/19.

17 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 75.

18 *Ibid.,* p. 7-9.

19 Compare the illustrations of simple ware incurved and everted rim bowls (fig. 4:h-m).

20 For a parallel of the vessel shape (not the ware) see A. P. Christensen, 1971, fig. 8/80.

21 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 74f.

22 *Ibid.,* p. 75f.

23 *Ibid.,* p. 9.

24 *Ibid.,* Pl. 21/PW 187-190, Pl. 22/PW193-196.

25 *Ibid.*, Pl. 24/PW197-200.

26 Fig. 5:g, area III a 12, locus FS 76.

27 A. P. Christensen, 1971, Fig. 4/50, Figs. 6/51, 52.

28 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 72-75.

29 K. W. Slane, 1997, p. 278.

30 A. P. Christensen, 1971, Figs. 16,17/156.

31 F. O. Waagé, 1948, p. 29.

32 Fig. 6:b area III a 12, locus 49; fig. 6:c area III a 13, locus 1; fig. 6:d area III a 12, locus 43.

33 A. Berlin, 1997, p. 5, footnote 16.

34 G. Finkielsztejn, 2001, p. 165, Tab. 16.

35 *Ibid.,* p. 195, Tab. 21.The author refers to the stamps of the amphorae at Gezer. G. Finkielsztejn renders the name as "Archembrotos I". In IG XII, I,66 we find a reference to "Archembrotos II", presumably a grandson of "Archembrotos I" as well as a reference to "Archembrotos mercator".

36 Bylkova (2002, p. 228) points out the mention in the Dnjeper-area.

37 R. A. S. Macalister, 1912, p. 354f.

38 Hyakinthios – denominated after a beloved of Apollo. According to the myth, Apollo killed Hyakinthios with a misguided discus. A flower grew on the ground where the blood of the stricken lad dripped, and thus he was given the name Hyacinthe.

39 G. Finkielsztejn, 2001, p. 232, Tab. 21: "The beginning of the mention of the month is set c. 234 BC and appears to fall in a period of increase in the wine production (...) which may have demanded a more precise control of the production of amphorae (...). It is suggested that the increase in production resulted from a period of a prosperity following the end of the Third Syrian War (241 BC)".

40 In 1974, a fragment of a Rhodian amphora handle had been found in Kamid el-Loz, then in the rubble of the palace area (H. Kühne and B. Salje, 1996, p. 161f.). The writing exhibits a Δ at the beginning of the line and remainders of two further characters and is a striking parallel to our inscription. With a reference to A. Dimoulinis, H. Kühne and B. Salje reconstruct the name of the Rhodian manufacturer "Drakontida". Chronologically, they classify the piece into the period between 148-108 BC, thus too into the chronological group V. Unfortunately, it is not discernible what supports this suggestion. A decipherment on the basis of the hardly visible characters seems rather vague. An assignment on the base of two circles (probably followed by a rod) would also be problematic, but the authors do not address these circles. Corresponding signs are represented on numerous vessels in the Museum of Nicosia, which are connected with the names of various manufacturers (I. Nicolaou and J.-Y. Empereur, 1986, p. 522ff, figs. 6b,9b,10b,11b,13b).

41 H.-U. Wiemer, 2002, p. 29. Among the manufacturers' names, names of women also occur. See O. Masson, 1986, p. 39f.

42 A. Kuschke *et al.,* 1976.

43 L. Marfoe, 1995.

44 D. Bonatz *et al.*, 2002.

45 C. Jauß.

46 M. Sommer, 2001, p. 71-91.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

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